

JOINT FORCES STAFF COLLEGE
JOINT ADVANCED WARFIGHTING SCHOOL



IGNORING THE OBVIOUS:
THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAMISM IN AMERICA

By

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A paper submitted to the Faculty of the Joint Advanced Warfighting School in partial satisfaction of the requirements of a Master of Science Degree in Joint Campaign Planning and Strategy.

The contents of this paper reflect my own personal views and are not necessarily endorsed by the Joint Forces Staff College or the Department of Defense.

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This thesis proposes that the United States Government (USG) acknowledges and acts to mitigate the potential domestic threat of Islamism to national security. Radical influences are permeating throughout the United States via interaction with Muslim youth and through a misconstrued and misguided interpretation of Islam inside United States Prisons. These two mechanisms for spreading radicalism in the US are similar to those that are active in Europe. There are fundamental differences in the origins and effects of the radicalization in US and Europe. Europe's largest failure may have been its "westernized" misconception of Islam as a religion and failure to aggressively address initial problematic indicators: such as segmentation, ideology and criminal related activities used in spreading Islamism. The USG cannot repeat these failures. The combination of radical organizations, public apathy, appeasement and radicalization of prisoners threaten to facilitate the formation of a fifth column similar to the one that Europe deals with now. This thesis reviews the European challenges and examines certain indicators of radicalism within two affected demographics. The thesis proposes a domestic strategy combating the threat similar to that of the USG's commitment to the Global War of Terror.					
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ABSTRACT

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“This is not a ‘clash of civilizations,’ as some have claimed, it is more a clash of misunderstandings. But if the US focuses only on eliminating a terrorist network, and fails to recognize the larger stakes, ‘there will be many more Osamas’.”¹

Dr. Akbar Ahmed

The concept of Countering Ideological Support to Terrorism (CIST) is mentioned in the National Defense Strategy (NDS) as a key objective to the United States Defense Strategy in the 21st Century².

According to the NDS, CIST is an effort to use all aspects of the instruments of National Power (Diplomacy, Information, Military and Economic (DIME)) to achieve the following outcomes:

1) Delegitimize terrorism and extremists by, e.g., eliminating state and private support for extremism,

2) Make it politically unsustainable for any country to support or condone terrorism; and

3) Support models of modernization in the Muslim world by:

A. Building stronger security ties with Muslim Countries;

B. Helping change Muslim misperceptions of the United States and the West; and

C. Reinforcing the message that the Global War on Terrorism is not a war against Islam, but is an outgrowth of a civil war within Islam between extremists and those who oppose them³.

¹ The Christian Science Monitor, 20 September 2001 (Chair, Islamic Studies, American International University)

² National Defense Strategy, dated March 2005

The National Strategy for Combating Terrorism expanded the DIME principles with the MIDLIFE Approach (Military, Intelligence, Diplomacy, Legal, Information, Financial and Economics).⁴

The purpose for an aggressive effort to counter ideological appeal is to minimize the number of recruits into the ranks of terrorist organizations. Ultimately CIST attempts to discredit the goals and ideals of these organizations so that they have little power or influence to motivate individuals to risk or sacrifice their lives for terroristic causes. CIST is an integral part of the strategic success in combating terrorism. CIST erodes the appeal to extremist ideology, an adversary's perceived strategic center of gravity. An examination of the proliferation of radical Muslim doctrine indicates that the goal of its strategy is not to pursue short term gains, but to establish itself over a century⁵. It is safe to assume that America was naïve to the long-term goals of Muslim extremist until the events of September 11, 2001. These events galvanized our nationalistic interest against an adversary who was without borders or concrete governmental legitimacy and sparked the world's awareness to the goals of the Al-Qaida (AQ) organization. The events of 9/11 were meticulously planned and executed from a strategy that was conceived 20 years prior to that fateful day. Are our counter terrorism efforts short-sided and shrouded in the delusion that the pursuance of the "Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) or The Long War (TLW)" is merely an international threat?

The effects of September 11, 2001 events caused the nation to make sacrifices for national and personal security that were unthinkable prior to that time. America

³ NDS, March 2005

⁴ National Strategy for Combating Terrorism at West Point, September 2006

⁵ AQ Timeline for Caliphate

committed its military to pursuing terrorist networks in general and AQ in particular across the globe. The event of 9/11 reshaped our National Strategies and continues to define our determination in the pursuance of a ubiquitous adversarial network.

The threat of domestic terror poses challenges to the criminal justice system, all levels of law enforcement and the intelligence community. As we focus on the international threat of AQ and other like organizations, are we ignoring critical vulnerabilities that have origins from inside our own geographical borders? As the United States Government (USG) concerns itself with insuring the individual operatives such as those who carried out the treacherous mission of September 11 no longer have freedom of action, movement and access; is the USG and the American public ignoring radical influences within a religion or a radical religion? Are we ignoring a populous that is influenced by an ideology that is overtly incongruent with westernized democratic values and willing to criminalize its efforts to disrupt US influence? Lastly, is our seemingly global focus on the goal of eradicating radical Muslims and “winning” the Global War on Terrorism, blinding us from focusing on beneficial and long-term strategies that could counter such extreme influences before they take root within United States of America?

Chapter 1: Thesis and Methodology

The thesis of this paper is: The measure to which radical Islam is to be marginalized in a potential domestic front of the Global War on Terrorism may depend on American society's willingness to acknowledge the nature of Islamism and aggressively address radical Muslim influences in the United States targeting American Islamic youth and the US prison population. In support of the thesis, the paper will examine the radicalization of American Muslim youth and inmates in the United States Prison System. The method used by the author will be analysis, synthesis and recommendation. An analysis will be made of European lessons with regards to their history with growing indigenous and immigrant Muslim influences. The paper will frame the potential of "homegrown terrorism" as a threat to national security. The paper will also review European attempts to stem the growing influence of radicalization of its youth and review the connection between radicalization, youth and criminality in the name of Islam. It will also review cases where Muslim converts have been radicalized in prison and have become parts of terrorist activities upon release. The paper will further analyze the effects of radical Muslim premises that are being taught to school children and the emergence of radical Muslim organizations with the United States Bureau of Prisons (USBP). It will analyze a solution set in a strategic paradigm. The thesis will recommend domestic application of the instruments of national power to address, mitigate and counter radical influence. Federal and local law will ultimately determine the final authority, action and structure of the organization responsible for directing the overall counter-influence for the support of terrorism effort.

Chapter 2: A Comparison Account

From the mid 1800's to as late as the mid 1970's the Ku Klux Klan was a major threat organization within the boundary of the territorial United States. The organization commonly known as the "KKK" regardless of its multiple subset organizations, terrorized and victimized minorities, intimidated empathizing Caucasians and religious organizations based on the ideal of white supremacy and race separation. They were not identified as a terrorist organization within the United States but were given the characterization of "extremists" and then systematically reduced in influence by a number of events and the passage of time. Education of the masses, identification of KKK "ways" as criminal, law enforcement actions, legislation, prosecution of perpetrators, resilience among the targeted victims and a change in consciousness among their targeted audience contributed to the reduction of influence of the organization. Yet the organization and its basic ideology still exist. As recently as January 21, 2008, members of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan exercised their 1st Amendment right by protesting the Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday on the steps of a courthouse in Jena, LA.¹

The Montgomery Bus Boycott is generally considered as the event that officially birthed the Civil Rights Movement. Organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Student Nonviolent Corps (SNC) and Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) emerged to be the voice of change via non-violent means. Other prominent organizations such as the Nation of Islam (NOI) and the Black Panther Party (BPP) advocated change via economic empowerment, self-actualization and as necessary, direct confrontation using violence. While the NAACP and SCLC survived the primacy of the Civil Rights era and remain relevant in civic and

¹ AP News, 21 January 2008

political spectrum, the BPP was targeted for eradication and identified as an organized crime syndicate. The ideological premises of the organizations were similar and the strategic end was an equal minority footing in America, but they philosophically differed in the ways and means undertaken to secure the strategic vision. The BPP, regardless of strategic vision, was vilified based on the criminal activities that overshadowed its positive contributions to urban cities. The BPP was labeled as an extremist organization.

Though both the KKK and the BPP (now commonly referred to as the New Black Panther Party) still exist, they no longer command the attention or possess the influence that they did at their peaks. Both the BPP and KKK have changed the modes and methods of recruitment with some success to the masses, but their messages have lost the appeal and energy. The organizations are divergent in their ideology, audience and goals yet they both share common traits and demise. Both organizations used forms of terror as a tactic and both organizations were identified as extremist organizations thus subject to criminal prosecution for their activities. There are still people who prescribe to the ideologies and there are still extremists in the respective groups that are potentially dangerous to society. But in both organizations the ideology was plainly defined as hate, actions identified as criminal and its influence marginalized.

Chapter 3: Islam, Islamism and Radical Muslims

Islam is one of the world's oldest religions. It is based on the words and vision of Allah as given the Prophet Mohammed in circa 610 A.D. Generally speaking there are six Articles of Faith to all Muslims and Five Pillars or actions that are expected of all Muslims.¹ The Articles of Faith Muslims follow are belief in:

1. No God except Allah, who is the only God.
2. Angels are spirit beings.
3. God's Holy Books, which according to the Quran, include the Torah, Psalms, Gospels and the Quran.
4. God's prophets, include Adam, Noah, Moses, Abraham and Jesus.
5. The absolute predestined will of Allah.
6. Belief in the resurrection and judgment at the end of history.²

These are the Pillars (actions) required of every Muslim who is able to carry them out:

1. Recitation of the creed: "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His prophet." If you recite this creed in the presence of two witnesses you are considered a Muslim
2. Regular practice of prayers. Sunni Muslims pray specific prayers five times each day. Shi'a Muslims pray three times a day.
3. Almsgiving
4. Fasting during Ramadan
5. Pilgrimage to Mecca: the Hajj

¹ Rick Rood, "What is Islam"

² Ibid.

Some Muslim sects add a sixth duty to this list: jihad or holy war. This term has various meanings, for example the notion of a struggle with temptation or the attempt to live a righteous life. Jihad also means ‘shooting war.’

The dual concept of the sixth pillar or duty has gained the attention of the world outside of Islam. The first concept of jihad as a personal struggle, commonly referred to as the “greater jihad,” is understood by most as the concept of self sacrifice or a determination to do that which is good.³ Most other major belief systems and religions acknowledge that this concept exists within their own construct. But the concept of the “lesser jihad” is expressed by the duty of Muslims to fight against infidels (non-believers) and apostates (those who have converted from Islam).⁴

The Quran encouraged military conquest or the spread of Islam by violent methods, especially during the first 100 years of its existence. As extreme political movements based on rigid puritanical interpretations of Islam gained prominence in ‘moderate’ Muslim countries, calls for jihad as permanent war against the West became more strident. Sheikh Omar Adul Rahman, currently imprisoned for his role in the 1993 World Trade Center Bombing, addressed a rally in Detroit in 1991 saying the following: “The obligation of Allah is upon us to wage Jihad for the sake of Allah. It is one of the obligations that we (Muslims) must undoubtedly fulfill. And we conquer the lands of the infidels, and we spread Islam by calling the infidels to Allah. And if they stand in our way, we wage Jihad for the sake of Allah.”⁵ Infidels are all non-Muslims. The Quran encourages Muslims to wage jihad when they are strong and to compromise with the

³ www.islambyquestions.net/jihad/aspects.htm

⁴ The Significance of Jihad, available at www.al-islam.org/al-serat-jutgal-nasr.htm.

⁵ Aleesha Khan, “The Radical Islamic Mind”

prevailing society when they are weak. This is in direct correlation to Muhammad's own actions when he fled from persecution in Mecca to refuge in Medina. While in Medina he told Christians: "We believe in what has been sent down to us (the Quran) and sent down to you (the Bible). Our God is the same as your God." (Surah 29:46)⁶. However while in Medina and strong, Muhammad received this vision: "Fight the people of the Book who do not accept the religion of the truth (Islam) until they pay tribute by hand, being inferior." (Surah 9:29)⁷

With the influence of violent teachings in many sects of Islam, the term 'jihad' has come to include a call to kill other Muslims (apostates) who do not adhere to one particular belief system. The combination of religious zeal and political rhetoric has formed the movement of what is now called 'Islamism.' Its followers are known as 'Islamist' or in some circles 'jihadi-Salafist' as a means to distinguish Salafist from Islamist and more overtly Wahhabist which is the form of Islam practiced in Saudi Arabia. Islamism is considered to be more of a political movement than one of religious purism, but its efforts are considered to be a main force of the destabilization of the Middle East.⁸

Islam has split into many factions. The first division in Islam occurred shortly after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632AD. Since Muhammad died without any natural children and there was no named heir, his friend Ali, assumed the role of leader of Islam or Caliph.⁹

⁶ In the Quran, translated with notes by N.J.Dawood, Penguin Books London, 1956; 1999 page 310

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Khan, Aleesha, "The Radical Islamic Mind" www.freerepublic.com/focus/news

The two main groups of Muslims were apportioned after the murder of the third Muslim Caliph, Othman, in 655AD. The first party, the Shiat Ali or 'Party of Ali' believed a living leader of Iman should be descended from the family of Muhammad through Ali. They are known as Shi'a or Shiites and represent about 10-12 percent of all Muslims and form a majority in Iraq and Iran. The second party believed that the community's elders should select a Caliph and that guidance was readily available in the form of the Sunna, or three-fold path of the Quran (revelation of the vision of Allah as given to the prophet Muhammad), Hadith (revised interpretation by select scholars) and Ijma (the historic example set by Muhammad and the early Islamic community)¹⁰. These followers are known as Sunni Muslims. They make up the majority of all Muslims throughout of world and this group is generally the most influential in both the religion and world stage. A third party, a somewhat mystic group known as Sufi rose within both Shi'a and Sunni populations and grew in numbers after Muslim contact with Christian mystics in Europe.¹¹ Sufis are a generally oppressed minority in the Muslim community.

Within the main groups of Sunni and Shi'a, there are many sects with differing interpretations of Islamic history, traditions and law. The two main groups that have gained the most notoriety since 9/11 are Deobandism and Wahabbism. Both emerged from the Sunni division of Islam.

Deobandism

Deoband is a town a hundred miles north of Delhi, India where a madrasa (religious school) was established in 1867. The Deoband madrasa brought together

¹⁰ Parvin, Bob "Islam One American's Finding"

¹¹Rood.

Muslims who were hostile to British rule and committed to a literal and austere interpretation of Islam. The purpose of the movement was to educate Muslim youth in their faith and help them apply Muslim principles when they were unable to live in their own communities.

When India was partitioned in 1947, the principal teacher of Deoband, Maulana Abdul Haq, left to start a madrasa in the new country of Pakistan. The school was named Haqqania, eventually became a major training ground for members of the Taliban leadership who enforced the principles of Deobandism strictly. By 1999, the vast majority of Afghanistan's Taliban leadership in Kabul was alumni of Haqqania.

Wahhabism

Wahhabi Islam was founded by Muhammad ibn Add al –Wahhab (d-1792), who is considered to have been the first modern Islamic fundamentalist and extremist. Wahhab made the central point of his reform movement the principle that absolutely every idea added to Islam after the third century of the Muslim era (about 950 CE) was false and should be eliminated. Muslims, in order to be true Muslims, must adhere solely and strictly to the original beliefs set forth by Muhammad.

The reason for this extremist stance, and the focus of Wahhab's reform efforts, was a number of popular practices which he believed represented a regression to pre-Islamic polytheism. These are all practices commonly and traditionally associated with religions, but they were unacceptable to Wahhab. Contemporary secular behaviors are even more anathema to Wahhab's successors. It is against modernity, secularism, and the Enlightenment which current Wahhabists do battle — and it is this anti-secularism, anti-

modernism which helps drive their extremism, even to the point of violence. It should also be noted that there is a history of violence within Islam and with further examination we will see Quran references to violence as a way of propagating the faith. Therefore in respect to the faith itself, acts of violence are not foreign, but the radicalization of such acts using the Quran as a reference are the acts that define radical Muslims or what is termed as “Muslim Extremists.”

In contrast to popular superstitions, Wahhab emphasized the unity of God (*tawhid*). This focus on absolute monotheism lead him and his followers to be referred to as *muwahiddun*, or “unitarians.” Everything else he denounced as heretical innovation, or *bida*. Wahhab was further dismayed at the widespread laxity in adhering to traditional Islamic laws: questionable practices like those previously mentioned were allowed to continue, whereas the religious devotions which Islam did require were being ignored. Wahhab perceived that this laxity created indifference to the plight of widows and orphans, adultery, lack of attention to obligatory prayers, and failure to allocate shares of inheritance fairly to women. Wahhab characterized all this as being typical of *jahiliyya*, an important term in Islam which refers to the barbarism and the state of ignorance which existed prior to the coming of Islam. Wahhab thus identified himself with the Prophet Muhammad and at the same time connected his society with what Muhammad worked to overthrow.¹²

Because so many Muslims lived (so he claimed) in *jahiliyya*, al-Wahhab accused them of not being true Muslims after all. Only those who followed the strict teachings of al-Wahhab were truly Muslims because only they still followed the path laid out by Allah. Accusing someone of not being a true Muslim is significant because it is forbidden

¹² Ibid.

for one Muslim to kill another; but if someone is not a true Muslim then killing them (in war or in an act of terrorism) becomes licit. It would be hard to underestimate the importance of this principle to modern terrorists and extremists.

Wahhabi religious leaders reject any reinterpretation of the Quran as relates to issues settled by the earliest Muslims. Wahhabists oppose the 19th and 20th century Muslim reform movements which reinterpreted aspects of Islamic law in order to bring it closer to standards set by the West, particularly with regards to topics like gender relations, family law, personal autonomy, and participatory democracy.

Today, Wahhabism is the dominant Islamic tradition on the Arabian Peninsula, though its influence is minor in the rest of the Middle East. Usama bin Laden (UBL), a native of Saudi Arabia, is considered to be a Wahhabist. However bin Laden is not openly claimed or supported by many Wahhabi clerics and leaders because of his exile status in Saudi Arabia. Adherents of Wahhabi Islam do not regard it as simply one school of thought out of many; rather it is the **only** path of **true** Islam — nothing else counts.

Though considered in a minority position overall in the Muslim world, Wahhabism has influenced other extremist movements throughout the Middle East. Specifically, is al-Wahhab's use of the term *jahiliyya* to vilify a society which he does not consider pure enough, whether they call themselves Muslim or not. Even today, Islamists use the term when referring to the West and at times even to their own societies. With it, they can justify overthrowing what many might regard as an Islamic state by essentially denying that it is truly Islamic at all.¹³

¹³ Austin Cline, "Wahhabism and Wahhabi Islam: How Wahhabi Islam Differs from Sunni, Shia Islam"

Islam in America

The history of Islam in the United States is widely debated and very contentious based on the sources. This is likely because Islam as a religion was not widely practiced in America until the early development and polarization of the organization known as the Nation of Islam (NOI). Traditionally, Islam in the United States is divided into three periods: colonization, post WWI and the recent history.

Islam in the United States can be traced to Estevanico of Azamor, a Berber and Moroccan born slave that arrived in North America with the expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez in the 16th-century¹⁴. Controversy surrounds the numerical estimates of Muslims in the United States largely due to the population increase of immigrants. Roughly thirty percent of all Muslims in America are African Americans who converted to Islam over the last seventy years within the NOI, though many have converted to Sunni. The NOI itself is not generally recognized the sects of Sunni or Shia. Conversion to Islam in the U. S. Prison System is also attributed to both an increased number and the lack of accuracy.¹⁵

Further Muslim influx into the US was attributed to the burgeoning slave trade. It is estimated that approximately 200,000 practicing Muslims were transported to America by the slave trade, with many others having some knowledge of Islam. Moderately large pockets of practicing Muslims, slaves were allowed to worship, practice and dress in Islamic tradition on many plantations in Georgia and North Carolina.

¹⁴ Rayford Logan, "Estevanico, Negro Discoverer of the Southwest: A Critical Examination" Phylon (1940-1956)

¹⁵ http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=960&wit_id=2719

Mass migration to the US by Muslims began in the early 1800's with an influx of Yemenites and Turks, which lasted until WWI. Most of this generation of Muslim immigrants came to the US with the express purpose of making money and returning to their native countries. However the economic hardships of the 19th Century made it difficult for these immigrants to prosper and the result was that many settled in the US permanently. These immigrants settled in areas such as Michigan, Massachusetts and the Great Plains. The first American mosque was founded by Albanian Muslims in Maine.¹⁶ By the mid 1950's there were over 25 mosques nationwide. In the last 30 years the number of established and recognized mosques in the US has more than quadrupled according to a recent Faith Community Today (FACT) survey. California has the largest number of mosques.¹⁷

Nation of Islam (NOI)

Though considered a distorted sect of the original religion and an aberration of the major sects, the Nation of Islam was founded in 1930 by Wallace Fard. Fard drew from the doctrine of Noble Drew Ali's Moorish Science Temple of America. Today the group's major influence is in the African American community. While the group is credited with spearheading the largest organized march on nation's capital, sponsoring numerous cultural, academic, social and economic programs, its traditional teaching of

¹⁶ Queen, Prothero and Shattuck Jr. 1996, *The Encyclopedia of American Religious History*. New York

¹⁷ Ibid.

anti-white, anti-Christian and anti-Semitic teaching has contributed to it being named a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center.¹⁸

Demographics

There is no accurate count of the number of Muslims in the United States, because the US Census does not collect data on religious affiliation. The true number of Muslims in America is debated by various institutions on the basis of varying methodologies. Some figures are claimed to be inflated by groups that have no scientific basis to dispute them, while many Muslim leaders say that the numbers are inaccurate based on the apprehension of many Muslims to identify themselves.

Table 1 illustrates the varying degree of accuracy of the numbers while identifying the various organizations that claim to have knowledge of the exact Muslim population.

¹⁸ Active U.S. Hate Groups in 2006, Southern Poverty Law Center, Retrieved 29 October 2007

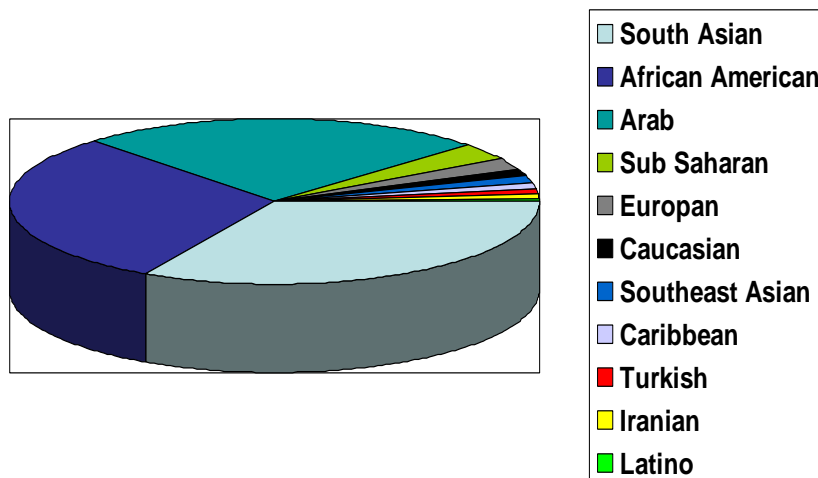
Estimate of Muslims in the US

Date	Estimate	Source
2001-	1.8 Million	ARIS
2000	1.6	Glenmary Research Center
October 2001	1.9	National Opinion Research Center
April 2001	2	Hartford Institue of Religious Research
2001	2.8	Amerian Jewish Committee
2005	4.7	World Britannica
2001	5	Abdul Malik Mujahid
2002	2.4	Pew Research Center
1995	6	CAIR
1997	6.7	Llayas Ba-Yunas
April 2001	6.8	Prof. Ishan Bagby
2001	7	Various Source
2002	7	CAIR
1998	12	Pakastani News

Table 1

Figure 1 illustrates the diversity in ethnicity and nationality of the Muslim in America. The 2007 Pew Survey of Muslim Americans identified two-thirds of Muslim Americans as foreign born. Among this number more than one-half have immigrated to the US since 1990. Of the roughly one-third of Muslim-Americans that are native born, the vast majority of them are converts and African American. In 2005, the New York Times reported that 96,000 people from traditional Muslim Countries became permanent United States residents, which was more than any other year in the previous two decades.¹⁹

Muslims in America



According to the "*Faith Communities Today*" report,
the ethnic origins of regular participants in U.S. mosque - 2003

¹⁹ Migration Information Source – “The People Perceived as a Threat to Security: Arab Americans Since September 11”

Most Muslim immigrants come to America from predominately Islamic countries. While the vast majority of the immigrants may come to the US for holistic and genuine reasons and in the lineage of early immigrants of all faith and ethnicities, it is naïve to ignore the possibility that a minority have other agendas. According to researchers, there are multiple reasons for global disdain for America in the world of Islam. Anti-Americanism has multiple origins: resistance to Western values, reaction to perceptions of American cultural predominance, resentment of the U.S. for propping up corrupt governments around the world, stationing U.S. troops in Arab countries and a sense that America has been highly insensitive and insincere to Arab plight in Palestine and Iraq.²⁰ No doubt there are some immigrants who harbor these underlying biases, beliefs and opinions regardless of their success in American Society.

Muslims in the US Prison System

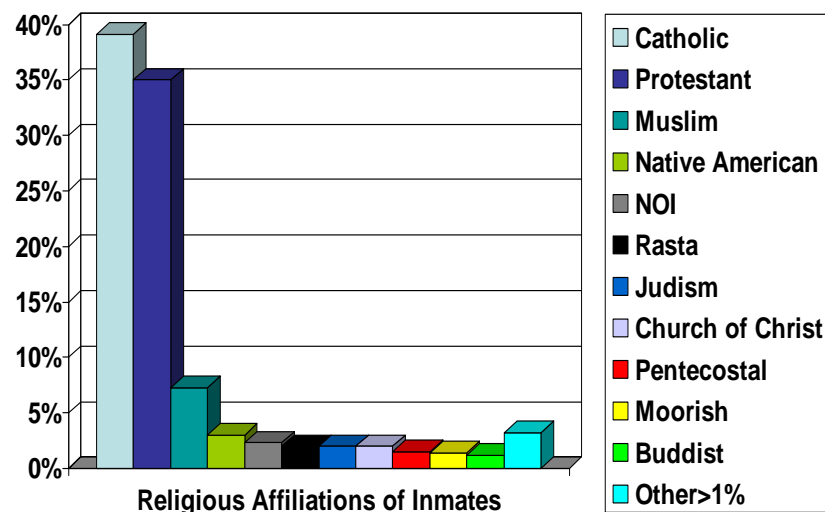
In addition to the influx of immigrant Muslims, state, federal and local prisons in the United States are a major contributor the growth of Islam in America. Although Muslims in general make up less than 2% percent of the overall population, the U. S. Bureau of Prisons (USBP) estimates that the percentage of Muslim inmates is 15-20% of the entire prison population. According to USBP statistics, there were approximately 350,000 Muslim inmates in 2003, with the expectation that the number of converts would grow by 30,000-40,000 in subsequent years. Most converts are African American, although there is a small yet growing number of Hispanic Muslims. According to Dr. Michael Waller, radical groups suspected of having links to terrorism dominate the

²⁰ Bruce Stokes, "Why Do They Hate Us? The Roots of Terrorism," AWC Nonresident Studies Compendium, January 2006

Muslim prison recruitment in the US and often create a radicalized cadre of felons who support anti-American efforts.²¹

Religious Affiliation Prison Graph 1²²

Federal Bureau of Prisons Religious Affiliation of Inmates



Sampling and Voluntary Responses, dated March 05, 1997
(100,000 Inmates in Sample (80% Response))

²¹ United States Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Testimony of Dr. Michael Waller, Annenberg Professor of International Communication, The Institute of World Politics, October 12, 2003

²² March 5, 1997, The Federal Bureau of Prisons does not keep statistics on religious affiliation of inmates. The listed numbers are based upon religious categories and done by volunteer sampling. Total known responses 74731, Unknown/No Answer Responses 18381, Total Convicted 93112 (80.259% total responses equal 74731. Held in custody 3856 (bit surveyed due to temporary custody; 96968 total sampling attempts.

Chapter 3: The European Example

“In the Berlin district of Neukolln, the number of internet cafes in the neighborhood is amazing, one on every block. But the mosques are not visible. Most people read just the headlines on the Internet, but few read the articles. Reading just the headlines necessarily leads to a superficial, ‘sound byte’ view of the world. The risk is the same for understanding Islam and Muslim politics, leading to a ‘sound byte’ version of Islam. The Internet has now become the ideological battlefield of radical Islam.”¹

Gijs de Vries, the European Union (EU) Counterterrorism Coordinator stated in a 2006 conference that “Terrorism is a common and urgent threat for both Europe and America. We are together. It will be a long and painful struggle for all of us...all the more reason to work closely together.” Europeans have long discovered the influence of radicalized Muslims on their society in general and their young counterparts in particular. Yet it does not seem that Europe have learned cooperatively how to best address the challenges that Muslim immigration has brought to the continent.

The Netherlands

The Dutch Ministry of the Interior published a 60-page report in the winter of 2004, entitled “From Dawa to Jihad.” It was prepared by the Dutch general intelligence service (AIVD) to describe radical Islam and examine how to meet its threat to Dutch Society. The report received a great amount of scrutiny inside of the Netherlands as critics of the report questioned the timing of the report and attacked the governments’

¹ Current and Crosscurrents of Radical Islam, Center for Strategic and International Studies(CSIS), April 2006

previous inactivity towards addressing the issue. The report was published after the November 4, 2003 murder of provocative Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh in an Amsterdam street by a Muslim radical named Mohammed Boyeri. Over the next few weeks religious chaos broke out as both Christian churches and Muslim mosques were vandalized and targeted for arson. The critics indicated that prior to the murder and its ensuing outbreak of related violence that the government would not have singled out the Muslim community. Among key elements in the report were:

- The perceived Dutch ambivalence to the Muslim crisis was a direct result of the Dutch culture and could be characterized by two words. The first word, “gedoogculturr,” which means “a culture of permissiveness” but had become synonymous with “closing one’s eyes” to transgression of the law. Its basis is the prevalent anti-authoritarian attitude that is common in Dutch society. The second word is “poldermodel” which means the effort to reach national consensus on broad or sensitive issues.
- There are close to one million Dutch Muslims, with 95 percent being classified as moderates. This implies that up to 50,000 are potential radicals.
- Recruitment of armed radical Muslims, largely from among descendents of immigrants, is a trend. This was supported by a 2002 AIVD report that there had been at least ten major groups of recruiters at work in the Netherlands and there were large numbers of Muslim youngsters in various stages of the recruitment process.

- Since 9/11, the growth of radical Islamic groups, polarization between Muslims and the surrounding society, limitations in the process of integration and Islamist terrorism have increased in the Netherlands.²
- Of the eight categories of definitive radical Islam, four of them aim at dawa (proselytizing), which from the report's perspective transcends simple proselytizing to undermining democratic order by manipulating and abusing democratic means. Four others are 'jihad' in nature. All of these categories of radical Islam were found to be operating in the Netherlands.
- In the Netherlands, the Arab European League Movement (AEL) was active in dawa through political means using Salafist mosques, Islamic missions and personal appeal of local Muslim clerics. Other types of dawa are promoted and utilized on the websites of foreign radical scholars and in internet chat rooms. Un-guided dawa takes place in jails, some Muslims schools and mosques.
- There are various forms of support for jihad in The Netherlands. The internationally known radical organization Hizb ut Tahrir, which promotes jihad in hidden ways, is within Dutch borders. There were also local Muslim terrorist networks.³
- The capability of Dutch society to resist the threat of radical Islam is considered low.

² The DAWA Report, December 2004

³ Gerstenfeld, Manfred "Radical Islam in the Netherlands: A Case Study of a Failed European Policy" Jerusalem Center For Public Affairs, 2 January 2005

- The resistance within the Dutch Muslim community against radical forces is low. The moderate organizations and individuals do not counter or offset the radical forces, though said to be 95% larger.⁴

In addition to the items outlined in the report and listed above, the AIVD report indicated that there was increasing concern over the influence and involvement of Saudi Arabia, specifically Salafist, in organization financing and missions. While there is little indication that specific 'jihad' callings have been proposed in local mosques, there is proof that certain sermons contain 'jihadist tendencies,' such as request to Allah to 'kill the enemies of Islam' such as the POTUS and the enemies of Islam in Kashmir and Chechnya.⁵

In light of the report from AIVD, there has yet to be any real action by the Dutch government to seriously address the problems that they are facing with a growing Muslim population that they neither understand nor are willing to seriously engage. It is the Dutch attitude that has basically rendered the report from AIVD a collection of observations and review of problems with no quantifiable strategy of handling the problems. Much to the Dutch's credit, this lack of confrontational effort is part of their culture. But to their detriment, their inaction only emboldens the '50,000' possible radical Muslims in their borders. The report outlined the following 'medium and long-term strategies:

- Distribution of better information on radical Islamic groups,
- Collaboration with moderate forces in the Muslim community

⁴ Institute of Contemporary Affairs (ICA), "Radical Islam in the Netherlands: A Case Study of a Failed European Policy."

⁵ ICA

- Encouraging more moderate forms of Islam
- Promoting Muslim identity
- Development of positive role models for young Muslims
- Democracy Education
- Dialogue with countries that export radical Islam⁶

Unfortunately the Dutch recommendations are without any concrete proposals regarding their execution and the Dutch have yet to formally discuss their own resolve in public forum regarding the desire for their government to engage any such named exporters. The mere admission of the reports findings and lack of actions to address the results is only leads to the conclusion that the Dutch political system admits, de facto, that its societal model of excessive tolerance for intolerance and crime has failed and is becoming a European paradigm.⁷

The Balkans

The southeastern region of Europe is home to approximately eight million Muslims, roughly one-third of all Muslims in Europe. Bosnia has experienced an ethnic and religious realignment over the past 15 years. Albania, which is a declared atheist state since 1967, acknowledges that Islam is its dominant religion though the majority of its population is secular. There is a one million Turkish Muslims in Bulgarian and the ethnic Albanian communities that comprise a quarter of the total population of Macedonia. Kosovo, though considered a secular society, is comprised of a Muslim

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

majority. This legacy of Muslims remain from the Ottoman Empire, yet in recent years there has been increasingly more activity and violence by radicals, old and young, in this region. The influence of Wahhabism in the region has influenced a transformation in the region that differs from country to country.

In Macedonia, moderate Muslims seem to be in full retreat in the face of a growing and more provocative group of Muslims. The head of the Islamic Community of Macedonia, Arif Emini was forced to resign in June 2005. His resignation followed more than a year of documented inner turmoil in the Muslim community that included many incidents of violence. Yet he was succeeded in the organization that he founded by a presumed radical right wing faction led by Zenon Berisha who is accused of being a Wahhabist.

In a country whose history of turmoil is well documented and entrenched in ethnic turmoil but never directly involving Islam, the actions of the radical faction are well documented. Attributed to the violent actions of radical factions in Macedonia are:

- Emini was held hostage by loyalist
- Immediately following Emini's resignation, a group of Skopje Imams was attacked. The chief imam of the Skopje Hudaveril mosque told a local news paper, "The people who attacked us were definitely representatives of radical Islam, or as we call them, Wahhabis – proponents of Zenon Berisha, who for more than a year has been trying to take over the Islamic community."⁸

In Albania, the emerging radical movement is simply referred to as 'the young.'

⁸ www.worldpress.org/Europe/2335.cfm

Though no overt violence have been directly attributed to any recognized group, ‘the young’ were investigated for sending death threats to the head of the Islamic Community of Albania, after the proposal to modify worship rituals was rejected by the moderate majority. While the Albania government assessment of ‘the young’ is that their influence is marginal, their presence concern the West as they may become more bold and aggressive over time and provide a base for future terrorist structures and cells.

The Islamic Community of Bulgaria, Nedim Gendzev, has accused some opposition groups of spreading Wahhabism and having connections with the Netherlands-based Al-Waqf al Islamic Foundation which has been linked to AQ. The Bulgarian media has provided coverage of an increasing number of madrassas that are operating in the country. These institutions are said to deliver radical teachings that differ from the traditional Islam practiced by Bulgaria’s predominately Turkish-Muslim population. The Bulgarian State directorate for Religions has assessed that the division in the Bulgarian Muslim population has its foundation in the number of young people who have graduated from maddrassas and universities in Saudi Arabia and Jordan. While the directorate acknowledges the influence of the teachings of these foreign maddrassas on its Muslim population, it cautions against directly associating the Wahhabi belief with terrorism. The view was affirmed a former Bulgarian Intelligence Chief, who told the Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR), that Bulgarian Muslims were ‘peaceful’ and not prone to extremism. The Bulgarian Helsinki Committee warned the media about spreading Islam phobia. Yet the constant denial by civic, government and public officials of a simmering problem is contradicted by the Bulgarian Islamic Community.⁹

⁹ Ibid.

In Kosovo, 29-year-old, Jordanian University graduate Albert Haziri-Zijdi is considered a provincial leader of the Wahhaibs. Though the general Kovorain Islamic community does not consider the group of Wahhabis a threat and thinks that they would be stopped if they attempted to set up parallel structures, Zijdi aspires to do just that.

Finally, the Bosnian government identified an established AQ terrorist link and cell.¹⁰ The link between radical organizations and young actors goes back to those who returned from education abroad to fight as members of the El Mujadid brigade, a militant irregular unit that operated during the 1992-1995 war. There are two groups at the forefront of the radical movement in Bosnia: the Young Muslims and the Active Islamic Youth (AIO). In 2003, the AIO was put in the spotlight for the murder of three ethnic Croat returnees on Christmas Eve. The perpetrator claimed he was a member of the AIO. The AIO was put under surveillance after 9/11 and were found to be funded by the Saudi Al-Haramain Foundation, a group later declared by the United States to be a sponsor of terrorism. In light of these findings the pro-West Islamic Community of Bosnia has continued to attempt to assimilate the groups despite the divergent ideals.

Given the examples of radical Muslim groups in the Balkans and the Netherlands, it is a compelling observance that there is a continued environment of permissiveness. In the book “While Europe Slept: How Radical Islam is Destroying the West from Within,” author Bruce Bawer discusses the inactivity of the consolidating body of Europe, the European Union (EU). Bawer asserts that in the light of the assassination of Theo Van Gogh, the Madrid and London bombings and numerous attacks attributed to AQ in Europe, the EU still is resolved to be “politically correct” and polite in the face of a more brazen and embolden threat whose actors are getting younger with each event. A

¹⁰ Ibid.

continuous pattern of ignoring and alienating the isolated European Muslim community has only benefited those who radicalize.¹¹

Yet there are some important lessons that should be observed regarding Muslim immigration in Europe. Historically, Muslim expansion came by the end of a sword. Muhammad conquered Mecca and then the Arabian Peninsula by war. Later, the caliphs continued the expansion. With the exception of Finland and Iceland, Europe has experienced its Muslim expansion by legal immigration. Muslims are reproducing at a faster rate than the indigenous Europeans and are generally not assimilating into the society. Based on simple democratic principles where majority rules, a continuance of the demographic will allow a Muslim majority to take over these democracies.¹²

European multicultural tolerances have conferred a definite advantage to a group who are not as reciprocally tolerant. Conflict between European law and Muslim culture are regularly a news item. In March 2007, a 26-year old woman who was born in Germany of Moroccan parents sought a quick divorce from her Morocco-born husband on the grounds of physical abuse.¹³ A German judge denied the petition based on the Quran's sanctions of such physical abuse and said, "In this cultural background it is not unusual that the husband uses physical punishment against the wife." The judge also implied that the wife's 'Westernized' lifestyle gave the husband grounds to claim that his honor had been compromised. The judge was removed from the case. Though the crime was against European Law, the judge ruled with Islamic culture in mind. More importantly is the potentially steady state of subjugated law based on observances of

¹¹ CSIS, page 7

¹² Bawer, Bruce "While Europe Slept: How Radical Islam is Destroying the West from Within" Doubleday 2006

¹³ Ibid.

culture. European family unification laws afford that foreign born spouse can become a permanent resident of the European country. In the case above, the husband was automatically allowed resident status, therefore this law increases the number of legal immigrants and reduces pressure on them to integrate and assimilate into the new country.

Why is Muslim immigration to Europe so popular? One theory is that to an extreme, some immigrants come fully prepared to observe the new country's laws, ideals, customs and democratic values. Other immigrants come to Europe to get whatever benefits they can without having to change their historically and customary allegiance. Still others spend a fair amount of time in their homeland where they send their children to madrassas and continue customs that would not be viewed as favorable in Europe such as arranged marriages, polygamy, female domination and abuse, honor punishments, etc. The fact is that Muslims tend to be more loyal to their tribe or clan than to their nation – whether natural or naturalized, and because of this Muslims do not easily assimilate into European Society.¹⁴

¹⁴ Bob Parvin, "Islam: One American's Findings" <http://users.california.com/parvin/islam.html>

“This is not a war against Muslims on a religious level-but the only opposition to the dominance of western capitalism is not a nation, but a people.”

Dr. Imran Waheed

Birmingham (UK) Islamic Society

Chapter 5: Living in America

It may be difficult to fathom that such Muslim radicalization could ever occur in the United States. There are some stark contrasts, from a transatlantic perspective, which seem to make the integration of Muslims in American society more transparent. This may be analyzed through a number of factors:

- Europe has a much larger Muslim minority than the United States.
- Muslim immigrants in the US have been better educated than the norm
- Immigrant Muslims in the US typically earn more, per capita, than the average American
- The US “melting pot” has made it easier and more feasible for Muslims to take on a subtle “hybrid identity” (Muslim-American).¹

Yet the events of 9/11 changed the comfort level of both Muslims and Non-Muslims in America and how they relate to each other. Despite the general decry of terrorism by the majority of Muslims in America, there is a growing radical presence in the country. Non-Muslims have quietly become more uncomfortable with the increasing number of

¹ CSIS, April 2006

accommodations pursued by and granted to many Muslims in the form of: employee prayer rooms, head-scarves, permissiveness to allow Muslim women to drive with their faces covered and regular lobbying for mosques on university campuses. According to journalist Paul Barrett, a researcher of Muslim communities in America, the US is facing an increasingly growing Muslim population that is more concerned and outspoken about the US policy towards Israel. This is a connection that Muslim-Americans feel not as a direct result of any negative influences that affect their daily lives but because of the sense of the “Ummah” that identifies itself with the “victimization” and plight of others Muslims across the world, specifically in Palestine.²

The identification with the “Ummah” and transcontinental influences of certain imans should concern the West as a whole. Muslim ‘elites’ in Europe have begun to view the influences of radical imans as a high priority as a growing number of their children are being exposed to radical sentiments and that it is clear that the “imans” are setting the course of what Islam is and what values should be cherished and promoted. The elites identify that these messages of values are not being directed towards the older and more “moderate” Muslims. They are being directed to a younger more impressionable audience who are more willing to act in accordance with the advanced set of ideals. The purported mechanism of choice is one that is better understood by followers ages 13-25: the Internet.

Today’s youth comprehend and master information technology and automation by immersive necessity and adaptation. Computer Based Education (CBE) is commonplace in many American high schools, while computer-based interactive education is available

² Paul Ms. Barrett, transcript from the Transatlantic Dialogue on Terrorism in Washington, September 23, 2005

to children before they are able to walk. The average 12 year-old spends as much time playing Wii, Playstation and surfing the Internet as his/her parents might have spent playing Hide and Seek, dolls or throwing a ball. Technology and specifically the internet have developed a generation that is exposed to a variety of locations, issues and influences at the point of a mouse and click with limited filtration.

It is not coincidental that those drawn to Islamist violence in recent years have tended to be younger than their predecessors, particularly among pre-9/11 al Qaeda activist and those from related groups. The increased answer to the calling of a global jihad for younger participants can be partially attributed to the influence and growing importance of the Internet, “which has become a key vector of transmission for fundamentalist Islam, and in particular, salafi thinking.”³ Salafi, with its emphasis on Muslim universalism and the existence of the “new Umma” influences a sense of solidarity among groups of Muslims that are geographically separated.

Segmentation

Segmentation is the movement away from indiscriminate broadcasting to the focus on specific audiences. Many terrorist websites are now designed to attract a particular demographic – youth. Both Hezbollah and Hamas have web pages that are laced with cartoons that attract children. Following the link eventually leads to graphic video depiction of death and glorification of suicide bombers. According to CSIS, within days of an execution of individuals by radicals in Iraq a video of the event was posted on the Internet. The actual video was followed by another video showing children imitating the events.

³ Ibid

According to Gabriel Weinman, a leading professor at Haifa University, only 12 known terrorist websites existed in 1998, by comparison over 5,000 exist today. The use of the internet by terrorist organization and radical groups greatly enhances their ability to consummate financial transactions and promote global jihad. The promotion of global jihad via the Internet serves myriad of functions such as: targeting guidance, propaganda, psychological warfare, recruitment, networking, fundraising, data-mining, intelligence collection, information distribution and computer based training (CBT) of bomb-building techniques.⁴

Young American Muslims that have grown up with computer access and internet knowledge making them far more technologically astute and savvy than their parents. Thus they provide the 'perfect mind' for a new breed of self appointed imams who are often self-educated and self-pronounced while being critical and dismissive of the mainstream Muslim culture. Chat rooms serve as a connection to the Ummah and as a global mosque where ideological exchange occurs as do the lessons of intolerance and airing grievances. Opportunists in Iraq have made notable use of the internet as an all out information operation campaign against coalition forces. Iraqi militants have invited those who cannot fully participate against actions against coalition forces, sympathizers and other apostates to do so via a virtual jihad. Videos of exploding military vehicles and graphic executions are carefully crafted with captions and selected music to create an air of drama for the viewers. The impact of the videos is to influence the sense of radicalization beyond the reach of its physical participants. There should be no doubt that the war against terrorism should also be taken to the internet. A proactive technological campaign is necessary to protect and preserve the minds and hearts of

⁴ CSIS, page 17

young Muslims, especially Muslim- Americans. Dr. Klaue Scharioth, then State Secretary at the Foreign Ministry and now German Ambassador to the United States said in opening of the Berlin session of the Transatlantic Dialogue, “The target is not the U.S., it is not Spain – it is the open society we jointly stand for. It is human rights, respect for life, religious and cultural tolerance, the equality of all human beings.”⁵

“Sovereignty” of a US-based Saudi School

Radical influences are impressed on American Muslim youth at the pre-university age. The Bush administration received recommendation to close a Virginia based Islamic school, run by the Saudi government, in October 2007. According to a U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom report, textbooks and a general curriculum that teaches intolerance and “misguides the pupils into believing that in order to safeguard their own religion, they must violently repress and even physically eliminate the ‘other’” are being used at The Islamic Saudi Academy of Northern Virginia. The academy operates two campuses in Fairfax and Alexandria, VA.⁶ The textbooks which include curricula on Hadith (Islamic Traditions), Fiqh (matters of religious law and ritual), Tawhid (matters of belief), Arabic language and Saudi history are used at all elementary and secondary grade levels. They are supplied by the Saudi government and mirror the textbooks that are used in Saudi Arabia. The report, which was a continuation of a study done in 2003, found a ninth grade textbook taught “teenagers in apocalyptic terms that violence towards Jews, Christians and other unbelievers is sanctioned by God.”

⁵ CSIS, pg 22

⁶ Simmons, Greg, “US Commission Wants Saudi-Funded School Closed Until Textbooks Can Be Reviewed,” October 15, 2007, http://foxnews.com/printer_friendly_story/0,3566,303421.html

Interesting enough the school is outside the purview of local, state and federal education governing bodies including Department of Education. The private-school is private and thus not subject to the regulatory practices prescribed by local and state school boards. The school is a Saudi state run institution on leased U.S. government property which makes it outside the boundaries of Department of Education oversight. The federally mandated commission could not directly engage with the school to review the textbook, but had to petition the State Department to intervene just to get access to the curriculum. Saudi officials say the textbooks have since been cleaned up and re-distributed to Saudi-run schools around the US, the exception being the Northern Virginia institution. Complicating matters is the unique 'relationship' between the US-Saudi governments. This relationship makes it a potentially 'international incident' to close the school without exhausting all diplomatic efforts to come up with a solution. For that reason the commission petitioned Secretary of State (SECSTATE) Condoleezza Rice for intervention and assistance.⁷ At the time of this writing there was no information on the success of the SECSTATE, though the commissions report had reached Congress. A Congressional divide exists between those that want immediate actions from the Saudi-government on behalf of the ISA and others who believe that legislation mandating regulatory oversight of the Saudi run schools is unnecessary. One member of congress suggested that despite concerns over Saudi efforts to spread the Wahabbi brand of Islam, US-Saudi relationship will prevail. There are many people who disagree with that assessment and think that the official report on US-Saudi relationship and the Saudi influences in Wahabbism lacked forthright honesty. Ali Alyami, executive director of the Washington-based Center for Democracy and Human Rights in Saudi Arabia said of the

⁷ Ibid.

fall 2007 report, “It reflects the present administration policy towards Saudi Arabia. The present administration policy at this time is retreating to its habits prior to 9/11....This is the same institution that is feeding terrorism, hate towards this country (US) and democracy, and that hasn’t changed, regardless of what books have been-what language has been taken out from these books.”⁸ One would think that any book –no less a textbook- that promotes hate against Jews, Christians or Muslims as unacceptable in our society. Though the school is Saudi-ran, it is on US rented/leased land and educates young Muslim Americans. Alyami concludes that the divergent outlook between the countries is vast, “The fact remains the same, freedom, religious freedom, is non-existent in Saudi Arabia.”⁹

Organized Radicalism

Islamic scholar Bernard Lewis, in “The Roots of Muslim Rage,”¹⁰ explains the rise of Islamic radicalism and hatred of the West is in response to the Western superiority and the perceived intentional undermining of Islam’s authority by Western culture. Lewis concludes that the Islamic hatred is an outcome of the collision between the Western and Islamic civilizations and “an Islamic historical response to secularism and the Jewish-Christian heritage.”¹¹ As this radical Muslim outlook propagates the globe, American- Muslims are left in a quandary. More affluent than their Muslim brothers and sisters in the Middle East, and a part of the West they are branded as apostates by some radicals. They are in the dilemma between honoring the perception that they may have

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ <http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/90sep/rage.htm>

¹¹ Ibid.

formed prior to coming to America or risk being seen as less than a true Muslim. The only modernization of the “apostate” view is a by-product of Saudi Arabia’s own internal struggle with AQ since 2003. Since then some clerics have called for discontinuing the practice of ‘takfir’ – branding some Muslims as infidels worthy of destruction. Some scholars indicate that the increased activity of Muslim-Americans in the area of separation of neighborhoods, mosque building and madrassas funding is a result of this moratorium in order to make themselves more similar to the “Ummah” and less assimilated to the American. Yasha Emerick, a writer for the internet magazine “Young Muslims” addressed the duality and conflict that exists among Muslim Americans. He asserted that if Muslim-Americans choose not observe all the principles of Islam in their daily lives including those social in nature such as: allowing children to regularly consort with Non-Muslims, live in Non-Muslim communities and live far from the ‘masjid,’ or mosque then they do not have the right to “display your version of Islam and say this is what a Muslim should be.”¹² The author is a Muslim-American.

The challenge to Muslim-Americans to be Muslim first and American second is a challenge that radicals require the younger generations to face within the extreme doctrine and at the behest of ‘jihad.’ Confrontation with the West is considered by radical Muslim scholars as an opportunity to promote Islam and emancipate the world from Western dominance and values. Firstly, the radicals have defined the United States, the leader of the free world, as an enemy of Islam that is waging a ‘religious war’ against Islam. Thus on this premise, Islamic rulings have declared that the U.S. and its allies belong to the Dar-al-Haarb. “The command of jihad applies not only to Muslims on the

¹² Young Muslims – in pursuit of Allah’s pleasure “How to Make America an Islamic Nation.” Oct 29, 2007

confrontation lines in the Muslim and Arab worlds, but to all Muslims living in the areas of the enemy as well.”¹³ Abd al-Aziz al-Jarbou, a prominent radical Saudi scholar and author of the book “*The Foundation of the Legality of the Destruction That Befall America*,” ruled that the current state of relations between Islam and the West is to be expressed as one of total war against infidels. He says “America, is not a regime with which Islam can maintain normal relations until Islam becomes strong enough to launch a ‘jihad’ against it. Nor is it a regime that deserves the tolerant and peaceful attitude from Islam accorded to Christians and Jews as protected minorities under Islamic rule (ahl al-dhimma).” He further criticized other Muslim scholars for not defining the state of relations with America as ‘total war’ and ruled that the definition of the U.S. as *dare al-harb* obliges all Muslims to prepare in practice for the war against the infidels.¹⁴

A population that was once celebrated and assimilated into the mainstream of American society has become increasingly more segmented and dissimilar. At the heart of the matter are the privileges that the U.S. Constitution affords individuals as it relates to personal and religious freedoms. It is within these legal freedoms that radicals are making their presence felt in some of the most mundane yet public fashion. A Wall Street Journal Article entitled “Shariah in Minnesota,” outlined the details of the Muslim American Society (MAS) issuing a fatwa or edict forbidding Muslim taxi drivers in Minneapolis from accepting passengers carrying alcohol and about Muslim cashiers in Target stores refusing to scan pork products.¹⁵ These benign acts reflect an increasingly growing division between some Muslims and the general American society. The average American, though tolerant and perhaps even understanding of the religious principle that

¹³ <http://www.jcpa.org/jl/vp508.htm>

¹⁴ Abd al-Aziz al Jarbou’ Al-Ta-asil, pg 72-73

¹⁵ Katherine Kersten, Shariah in Minnesota? Wall Street Journal, March 24, 2007,

may govern such resistance, will not necessarily understand how those beliefs should “interfere” with the job at hand. Thus the further segmentation based on principle and not practicum will be incongruent with American custom. Notice that neither edict commanded that Muslim workers should cease to do these jobs, yet call for Muslims to act such a way that they may automatically ascend to a source of ‘high ground’ based on their religious principles. Complicating the issue is the fact that MAS is a scholarly organization that is comprised of young, educated and are regarded as being more ‘conscience’ Muslims than in previous immigrant generations.

The influence of organizations like MAS and the Muslim Students Association (MSA) is vast. The Constitution of the MAS states that the organization’s primary purpose is to “serve the best interest of Islam and Muslims in the United States and Canada so as to enable them to practice Islam as a complete way of life.” The MSA is a college student centric organization that was founded in 1963 on the University of Illinois by the Saudi government. The MSA is blatant in its anti-US propaganda efforts to influence Muslims on college campuses into supporting the radical Muslim and terrorist cause.¹⁶ Despite its rhetoric and alleged politics (sponsorship of anti-war protests, funding for Hamas, activism for divestment in Israel or the legal defense of Iman Jamil Al-Amin, aka H. Rap Brown), the northern Virginia-based organization has managed to establish a presence in over 150 colleges in the US. One would readily admit that the average 20 year-old college sophomore is interested in many political, economical and social events and has a diverse group of viewpoints. Some of the viewpoints are solidified in the academic environment while others are birthed and developed. The influence of an organization like MSA on university campus goes beyond the physical

¹⁶ Erick Stakebeck, “Islamic Radicals on Campus”, FrontPageMagazine.com, April 23, 2003.

campuses because of the tertiary influence of any college student on his/her friends, family and associations. Furthermore, access of organizations like MSA and MAS to US institutions of higher learning changes the landscape of who most people believe are the most vulnerable to radicalization. The National Security Strategy (NSS) identifies that a goal in the GWOT is to educate and revitalize those who are the most susceptible to radical and terrorist influence – the poor and uneducated. While this assessment of the target demographic may be true in the Middle East and Africa, it is not necessarily true in the West. Consider an account of a reporter from WorldNetDaily.com of an MSA meeting that he attended at a community college in Queens New York. Aaron Klien noted that the organization invited two American-based leaders of Al-Muhajiroun, an Islamic Fundamentalist organization that supports the ideology of UBL to discuss the War in Iraq, where during a rally on the campus a man only identified as ‘Brother Faheed’ spoke at the gathering. Klein, using excerpts from the speech paraphrases the following: “Faheed, immediately declared that there is an outright conspiracy against Islam by Christian and Jews and that as Muslims, ‘we must not recognize any government authority, or any authority at all besides Allah.’” This proclamation is a fundamental element of Shariah Law, which does not recognize the laws of man. Shariah recognizes law as given by Allah through the Prophet and that this law is above any man-made law.¹⁷

The First Amendment guarantees the right to free speech, but in just reviewing such rhetoric, one could conclude that the speech is at a minimum a call to anarchy and at most treason, having nothing to do with a religious rights or freedom. Further in the speech Faheed makes a more poignant declaration, “We are not Americans, we are

¹⁷ Maloney & Civan “ Model of Religious Schism with Application to Islam” October 25, 2006.

Muslims! The U.S. is going to deport and attack us! It is us versus them.....we reject the U.N., reject America, reject all law and order.....The only relationship you should have with America is to topple it!”¹⁸ This speech was given in the continental United States, on a college campus, during a time of war. There is no record of how many students, faculty or staff participated, attended or heard this rally. But the likelihood that someone in the crowd may have been influenced by the rhetoric is at a minimum possible, while the opportunity for such a platform is an exercise in free speech; it is still tragic and alarming even in the face of the Constitution. While universities and colleges are institutions where free thought is both explored and invited, is there not a responsibility for national consciousness regardless of the institutions defining political views. When the Iranian President Abinijad spoke at Columbia University in the fall 2007 he did so at the behest of the university leadership, who were aware of the controversy that the invitation may cause. But to the credit of the university, his invitation and speech were framed with respect to the theme of freedom of speech and thought. Allegedly the Columbia university leadership realized that they had a responsibility to the American public and the students to give both point and counterpoint dialogue in the interest of educating the youth of America. What was the responsibility of the leadership of the community college to their student population or the U.S. populace? It is more ironic that the speech was given in Queens, NY. Its proximity to the World Trade Center would appear to make this location a very unwelcomed host for such rhetoric. Are we so polite and passive in the interest of political correctness, that public calls to anarchy are acceptable to broadcast to American Youth?

¹⁸ Erick Stakelbeck, “Islamic Radicals on Campus” FrontPageMagazine.com | 4/23/2003

The MSA lists its primary goal as Muslim understanding in its constitution, yet it sponsored an event where an invited speaker attacks the government institution under a constitutional right. MSA receives much of its access to campuses throughout the US via resources and funding from private organizations. MSA and its donors are frequently involved in the philanthropic efforts of the colleges that support them and vice versa. Thus it might be inferred that they pay for the opportunity to influence and to have access. The MSA is largely sponsored by Saudi Arabia and has direct Wahhabi ties. In the United States and Canada, an estimated 80 percent of all Islamic establishments are said to be financially supported by the Saudis. The majority of Muslim Student Associations at U. S. colleges are dominated by Islamist with anti-American agendas, as are most of the numerous Islamic centers and schools financed by the Saudis.¹⁹

To further illustrate the Saudi influence on college campuses in America, Klein highlights the University of California at Berkeley. UC Berkeley is home of The Sultan Bin Abdulaziz Arab and Islamic Studies Program. The Saudi royal family has endowed this program with a minimum of \$5 million each year since 1998. This endowment accounts for a major portion of the university Middle East Studies program, scholarships, professorships, research grants. Furthermore, the gift has also contributed to new constructions for student quarters. Given the Saudi, but more importantly Wahhabi footprint, the MSA influence is very pronounced and deliberate in its attempts to galvanize scholarly, impressionable students to radical tendencies with information operation (IO) effort. There is no overt call to violence in the US, but that of resistance and patience as echoed by the President of MSA in US and Canada, Muslim cleric

¹⁹ Alex Alexieve, "The Missing Link in the War on Terror: Confronting Saudi Subversion" Center for Security Policy

Muzammil Siddiqui, “I believe that as Muslims we should participate in the (American) system to safeguard our interests and try to bring gradual change...We must not forget that Allah’s rules have to be established in all lands, and all our efforts should lead to that directions.”²⁰

The radical Muslim influences and actors extend beyond MSA and MAS, both in the reach that they have as operators in university campuses and as they relate to organizations whom they support (directly or indirectly) or whom support them. The supporters of MSA and MAS include: the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), Muslim World League (MWL), and the SAAR Foundation. Both the MWL and ISNA were Northern Virginia based organizations when they were raided by federal agents in December 2001 under the suspicion of supporting international terrorist organizations. Eventually both organizations were labeled “enablers of terrorism” in the \$1 trillion lawsuit that was filed by the relatives of people who died in the 9/11 attacks.

The MSA has also been linked to the Benevolence International Society, the Global Relief Foundation, the Holy Land Relief and Development Foundation (recently named as an interested party in federal court for its suspected role in supporting international terrorism), and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY, whose U.S. operations was headed by one of UBL’s brothers). Over the last few years all of these organizations have either been raided, closed down or had their assets frozen by federal agents for supporting terrorist activities, yet the MSA and MAS continue to freely operate on colleges and universities across America under the guise of being moderate, tolerate organizations that seek to cooperative understanding of the Muslim culture and support.

²⁰ Ibid.

Groups like MSA and MAS effectively form a ‘Fifth Column’ against American interest while propagating an effective IO campaign of anarchy and hate in institutions of higher learning. They do so using the principles of democracy that would not be afforded to them under shariah if they were a non-Muslims speaking against a standing Islamic government.

An effective IO campaign by radical Muslim organizations towards youth has possible violent implications. The UK bombings in 2005 were perpetrated by four British Youth the youngest being eighteen years-old.¹⁸ who were not propaganda-fed Saudis or pissed off Palestinians, but born and raised in England who decided to kill fellow Brits to exhibit their opposition to the Iraq War.²¹ A sense of ‘ummah’ seemed to be the rallying call for these four youngsters to execute the bombing mission. According to reports released by the British police and sections of the British press, all four were second generation British citizens of Pakistani parents.²² In view of the actions of the four youngsters, it would appear that things are different from when bright young Arabs were recruited and sent to European schools and then drafted into the Abu Nadal Organization when they arrived in the West. It is this sense of ‘ummah’ has propelled these and other youngsters to commit violent acts out of empathy for other Muslims. Consistent with the tactics of Hamas and Hezbollah, groups like MSA, ISNA and MAS recruit young doctors, teachers, businessmen and engineers – Muslims elites, to take up the cause. With Hezbollah in Lebanon, ‘weekend warriors’ are sometimes pressed into service or volunteer to take action against Israel. Abhinav K. Aima, a University of Minnesota professor, asserts that “the tendency to act violently out of empathy for

²¹ Ibid.

²² Abhinav Aima, “The Pied Piper of Baghdad – How the Iraq War is Recruiting Young Western Muslims Into Terrorism” www.commondreams.org/views05/0712-21.htm

‘victims’ that are neither one’s family nor one’s countrymen was largely nurtured by the American and Saudi sponsored ‘jihad’ against the Soviet occupations of Afghanistan. Directly and indirectly the West backed clerics and mosques in the Soviet-Afghanistan War in the name of defeating the expansion of communism, but this support had some tragic consequences that relate to the transparency of radicalism:

- The bombing of the World Trade Towers in 1993 was the work of Muslims working in the United States that were connected to Afghan war supporters in New York.²³
- Both Richard Reid and Zacarias Moussaoui were members of the Finsbury Park Mosque that was regularly monitored by British Authorities and was thought to be eradicated of radical influences.²⁴

In both cases the outward appearance of radicalism subsided or vanished to simply be transferred to the minds of a younger generation of Muslims who would be less vocal, less conspicuous, but more lethal and more active in carrying out the edict of Islamism. Both Reid and Moussaoui are representatives of a more diverse front for radical Muslims. While Finsbury Park may have been the place where they were worshipped and prayed, they both were indoctrinated in a more closed society. Moussaoui, of Moroccan descent, felt discriminated and victimized in the UK based on his religion and heritage. Richard Colvin Reid, aka Abdul Raheem (Tariq Raja and Abdel Rahim are among other aliases) is a British born citizen from Bromley, South London. Both spent considerable amount

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

of time in prison, including the Feltham Young Offenders Institution. Moussaoui was already a Muslim and Reid was converted while incarcerated.²⁵

²⁵ Ibid.

“Until such time as the Federal government begins to effectively monitor this rise of radical Islam amongst the captive populations of our prison system, a dangerous *fifth column* will continue to grow and will over time find its way from our prison into the cities and streets of America.”

-Mark Silverberg, *Silent War*

Chapter 6: Radicalism in US Prisons

While AQ has provided great inspiration and motivation for homegrown terrorism across the globe, the very nature of AQ makes the execution of such acts decentralized. As we see with most of the actual executors of terrorist acts they could be categorized as unremarkable, indistinguishable and ordinary. While the names of Bin-Laden or Zawahari or Zaqahri and organizations such as AQ, Hamas or Hezbollah are recognizable to most that are aware of the reality of terrorism in the world, names and the organization listed below may not be:

- Kevin James: age 29, cell leader, aka “Shakyh Shahaab Murshid , U.S. Citizen
- Levar Haley Washington: age 25, cell member aka “Abdur Raham” U.S. Citizen
- Gregory Vernon Patterson: age 21, cell member, aka “Bilal” U.S. Citizen
- Hammad Riaz Samana: age 21, cell member, US Resident Alien originally from Pakistan
- Jam’iyyat Ul-Islam Is-Saheeh (JIS)

The people and the organization referenced were indicted in federal court on charges of planning terrorist attacks against military facilities, the Israeli Consulate and Jewish synagogues in Los Angeles. According to court records the organization or cell conspired to wage war against the U.S. and murder military personnel and foreign officials. The attacks were reported to have been planned for September 11, 2005 and/or the Jewish holidays of Yom Kippur in October 2005. The cell or JIS was believed to have committed 11 gas station robberies in Los Angeles and Orange County to finance their plot and were eventually apprehended while robbing a gas station. After the arrest, the police confiscated jihadist literature, bulletproof vests and lists of potential targets upon a search of an apartment rented by some of the members. Kevin James, the JIS leader, both organized and conceived the plan with a co-conspirator Levar Haley Washington. Washington converted to Islam, while he and Hayley were incarcerated at the Folsom State Penitentiary near Sacramento California.¹

Prison can be a radicalizing chamber. With its isolated environment, adept social and survival network, ‘captive audience,’ routine and large population it serves as prime ground for targeting the disaffected and insecure for breeding radical ideology. Two of the conspirators listed above were converted in prison and followed the salafist ideology. Two of the Madrid bombers--Moroccan Jamal Ahmidan and Algerian Alleka Lamari—were either radicalized or more deeply indoctrinated in prison.

- Ahmidan, a non-observant Muslim incarcerated for petty crimes, was indoctrinated into radical Islam while in a Moroccan jail over the course of 2 ½ years. Ahmidan was fascinated by some of the inmates who were veterans of the Afghan jihad. As these jihadists used the prisons--a haven of disaffected men

¹ The Center for Policing Terrorism, www.cpt-mi.org

who are ripe for radicalization-- for attracting future recruits, Ahmidan also became fascinated with their radical views.

- Ahmidan was released in 2003-a man now wholly transformed into a Salafi ideologically and politically. Upon his return to Spain, Ahmidan not only prayed the required five times a day, but spoke incessantly about jihad and his desire to fight the Americans in Iraq. Although Ahmidan stopped drinking and using drugs following his transformation, he continued to sell drugs to non Muslims.
- Allekma Lamari, who had been arrested in 1997 for belonging to an Algerian extremist group had already been radicalized. However, according to open source, his five year stint in prison nurtured his extremist views and actually intensified his radical mindset. During his incarceration, Lamari joined an 'Algerian Islamist prison group.'²

The roots of radicalized Islam in US prisons stems from a number of factors including: limited number clerics, quality of independent and contracted clerics that are given charge of the Muslim believers, counterfeit Islamic teachings that meant to mislead and the influx of gangs that use Islam as a cover for covert, illegal and criminal activities that extend beyond prison walls.³

Though the actual numbers are disputed, most reports indicate that the over the past 30 years, Islam has one of the most powerful forces in the U.S. Prison System. Some estimate that as much as 20% of the entire prison population is Muslim, though factual data supporting that estimate is unavailable. The drawing power of Islam in prison is the sense of purpose that it gives to converts that have been disaffected and disenfranchised by incarceration. This drawing power is also a source of brotherhood

² Silber and Bhatt, "Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat," NYPD Intelligence Department

³ Ibid.

and unity that Muslims prisoners share that make them a group within the prison walls that are sometimes unaffected by other more notorious and criminal groups. However many Muslim prison groups operate under the guise of religion, but are themselves criminal in nature and use Islam as the code of conduct to control, manipulate, influence and ultimately radicalize its followers. In addition to Richard Reid (British ‘Shoe Bomber’), Jose Padilla (the alleged ‘Dirty Bomber’) and Aquil Collins (whom attended the Afghan training camp with the men accused of killing reporter Daniel Pearl) are terror suspects that were introduced to militant Islam while in prison.

Consistent with the radicalization of converts while in prison is the connection with criminal enterprises that are undertaken inside and outside the walls in order to fund the enterprises. Two of the suspects in the Torrance California plot were US citizens and had previous criminal records. The series of robberies that they committed follow the pattern of other terror suspects that used criminal enterprise to fund their attacks: the Madrid Bombers of 2004 stole explosives and drugs; the Bali Bombers (October 2002) robbed a jewelry store; and the Millennium Plot to bomb the Los Angeles Airport (LAX) were preceded by incidents that included weapons smuggling, robbing tourists, credit card fraud, identity theft and forgery.⁴

Safe Haven

Islamic extremists have targeted prisons as a “safe haven” to both recruit and train terrorist, plan and launch attacks.⁵ Islamic prison organizations have adapted over the years in order to survive and thrive as a valid organization inside prison walls. The JIS

⁴ The Center for Policing Terrorism, www.cpt-mi.org

⁵ Robert Hanser, “Prison Security Threat Groups and Domestic Terrorists,” *Crime and Justice International*, November 2002,

also known as the Assembly of Authentic Islam, was founded by ‘Torrance’ conspirator Kevin James shortly after he was incarcerated at Folsom in 1997. Though now referred to as an ‘Islamic Militant Gang,’ Jam’iyyat Ul-Islam Is-Saheeh or JIS was given sanctuary inside the northern California prison because it was dubbed a religious organization. This characterization gives the JIS, the Five Percenters and other organizations like it the dubious privilege of being able to do things that formally recognized ‘prison gangs’ cannot do, like openly congregate and communicate. They are given this privilege under the auspices of religious freedom and tolerance. The JIS code of conduct force its members to adhere to a strict code of conduct which included regular contact with JIS leadership and active recruitment of new members both inside and outside of prison. Two members of the Torrance conspiracy had no previous affiliation with the organization and had no prison records.⁶ They were recruited after Washington was released from Folsom.⁷

Across the United States, there are Muslims and Muslim converts practicing their faith behind prison walls. Islam is thought to be the largest growing religion among young, incarcerated African-Americans, many of which have previous gang affiliation and training.⁸ According to an FBI intelligence report in 2005, prisons are fertile ground for extremist to exploit both a prisoners’ conversion to Islam while incarcerated and the socio-economic status and placement of that prisoner upon release.⁹

The link between street-gangs and prison gangs is a criminal dynamic that may be expected. But the link between street-gangs and organized terrorism needs to be

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Lloyd Dabbs, “Homegrown Islamic Extremists in U. S. Prisons,” NDIC June 2007

⁹ Robert Mueller, 16 February 2005, United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence testimony

highlighted. The Black P. Stone Nation (BPSN) is a street and prison gang that uses Islam as a basis and criminal activity as a resource. The organization was a criminal gang before it adapted an Islamic mantra. The BPSN came to national prominence when its leader was convicted of conspiracy to commit terrorism for contracting with Libya to shoot down American aircraft within the United States.¹⁰ Jeff Fort, who founded the BPSN along with Eugene Hairston, exploited Islam as a means to gather for gang business under the guise of religious ceremony¹¹. The relationship between the gang and religion, in this case Islam, gave the BPSN legitimacy and freedoms that they were not afforded as merely a recognized criminal cartel. The ability to incorporate Islam into its ideals while maintaining criminal intent provided the gang with power and influence. Much like the BPSN, the JIS remained largely understood as merely a religious organization until the arrest of the Torrance conspirators. The JIS was able to compartmentalize themselves in covert groups in order to avoid the Folsom Prison Staff, but at other times were overtly gathering in worship.

Both JIS and BPSN are allegedly perverting Islam, using its “quasi-religious” identity as a cover for covert communications and gang organization. The JIS and Brotherhood of Hezbollah are said to conduct prayers, most in Arabic, that have dual meaning. JIS, BPSN and other prison gangs that use Islam as a cover are able to take advantage of the limited number of trained Muslim clerics in the Bureau of Prisons (BOP). It is estimated that there is only one chaplain for every 900 Muslim inmates while the ratio is as low as one for every 25 Protestant inmates.¹²

¹⁰ Knox, “The Problem with Gangs,” <http://www.ngcrc.com/bpsn2003.html>

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Mitchell, D. Silber and Arvin Bhatt “The Radicalization of the West: The Homegrown Threat,” NYCPD 2007

Even with such few Muslim chaplains inside prison walls, there are some who have questionable ideologies and radicalized views. The New York Department of Corrections (NYDOC) dismissed its chief of chaplains, Muslim imam Umar Abdul-Jalil, for remarks he made at a rally on behalf of the MSA in Tucson Arizona. Jalil referred to President Bush and the administration as terrorists and categorized negative attention on Islam as the work of the “Zionist of the media.” While Abdul-Jalil’s remarks may have been an exercise in his right to free speech, clearly the imam’s previous criminal record should have been a red flag for his employment in the NYDOC. ‘Prison Islam’ is a term where there is an overwhelming account of prisoner-led services. What is lacking from some of these services is the genuine observance to Islam, guidance and moderation. According to Knox, “there are many Islamic converts who read a page or two from the Quran, pick and mix a few phrases that can be adapted to their twisted moral code, and they get away with passing as a semi-religious group....when in fact they are nothing more than a criminal (prison) gang...Their expertise is not following the tenets of Islam, nor in any sense trying to live an Islamic lifestyle other than denouncing pork products; their expertise is in illicit violence and drug sales.”¹³ Ultimately, the leaders of these groups distort Islam to incorporate gang values and loyalty to Islamic radicals in the facility. Loyalty does not end upon release.

Figure 2, lists the ten largest active prison gangs nationwide. ‘The Five Percenters’ or Five Percent of Islam was founded in Harlem in 1964 as an offshoot of the NOI. The organization is largely legitimized by its civic and social activities during the 1960’s. While there are many prominent members of the organization that adhere to its form of Islam, there are others that have organized it into the tenth largest prison gang in

¹³ Dabbs “Homegrown Islamic Extremists in U.S. Prisons”

America. Its recognized validation in general, gives the Five Percenters religious autonomy in prison, although it has been identified as a growing gang.

Ten Largest U.S. Prison Gangs

- Crips
- Gangster Disciples
- Bloods
- Latin Kings
- Vice Lords
- Aryan Brotherhood
- Folks
- White Supremacists (generic)
- Surenos (Sur 13)
- **Five Percenters**

Figure 2 Source: Knox, “The Problem of Gangs,” 2005¹⁴

¹⁴ George Knox, “The Problem with Gangs and Security Threat Groups (STGs) in American Prisons Today: Recent Research Findings From the 2004 Prison Gang Survey,” National Gang Crime Research Center, online study www.ngcrc.com/corr2006.html, December 2005

Chapter 7: Recommendation

‘MIDLIFE’ Analysis

The National Strategy on Terrorism outlines six points that are required to win the War on Terror:

- Advance effective democracies as the long-term antidote to the ideology of terrorism;
- Prevent attacks by terrorist networks;
- Deny weapons of mass destruction to rogue states and terrorist allies who seek to use them;
- Deny terrorists the support and sanctuary of rogue states;
- Deny terrorists control of any nation they would use as a base and launching pad for terror; and
- Lay the foundations and build the institutions and structures we need to carry the fight forward against terror and help ensure our ultimate success.¹

The points outlined in the document are intended to address winning the war on terror before it has the ability to effectively organize and attack. The points are also exported strategies that were not devised to address the ‘homegrown terrorist,’ that may be created in the U.S. Prison System, radicalized in private ‘madrassas’ in the United States or

¹ National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, The White House, September 2006

nurtured through rhetoric delivered at the nations colleges and universities. But there are some valid pieces of these strategies that have application to addressing the increasing threat. The National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, outlines its Lines of Operations within the strategic paradigm of MIDLIFE:

- M – Military
- I - Intelligence
- D - Diplomacy
- L - Legal
- I - Information
- F - Financial
- E - Economic

The individual components definition of MIDLIFE is the same definitions DIMEFIL which is the construct that develops the elements of National Power. However by re-prioritizing the effort to reflect the changed acronym, the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism has placed the military role as decisively prominent with regards with the ability to carry out 4D Strategy (Defeat, Deny, Diminish, Defend) that the USG will employ to ‘win’ against terrorism. Since the strategy is meant to defeat terrorism in a global sense, an examination of its application against domestic threats should result in a minimum framework whereby the nation can begin to strategically plan and address the ‘homegrown’ adversary.

Instrument of National Power: M - Military

The traditional use of the Military is to deter aggression and win the nation's wars. As a domestic line of operation for addressing the challenge of domestic terrorism the traditional use and role of the military is both unacceptable and untenable. The role of the military and Department of Defense (DOD) on the domestic front on terror is primarily supporting departmental agencies like the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and assistance during consequence management in the event of any terrorist act that happens with the United States. But the military does have a role in securing the hostiles of its own ranks by continuing to realize, identify and prosecute those that have infiltrated the services and seek to do harm to it from the inside. Individuals like United States Army Sergeant Hasan K. Akbar, the soldier that threw a grenade in a Brigade Tactical Operations Center (BTOC), killing two, wounding fourteen others and causing mass confusion inside his units line while deployed in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom I (OIF I), must be identified by better screening and monitored. Sergeant Akbar exhibited erratic behavior that was both evident before and during the deployment process². Moreover the command described him as a "solitary 32-year old Muslim convert," who may have experienced the practical challenges of being a Muslim the military, but also the ideological pressures that exposed and influenced his radicalization.

Though spying has is not new within the military, the services must be cognizant of members who may be motivated by more than money when confronted with the opportunity to commit espionage. While money is typically the motivation to spy, the

²Jeffery Gentlemen, New York Times , June 23, 2001
<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C05EFDA163BF932A15755C0A9659C8B63>

case of Hasan Abujihaad formally known as Robert R. Hall, may indicate the willingness of some to act for political and religious grounds. The former sailor forwarded ship movement information, including the ship's perceived vulnerabilities to small boat attacks, while his ship sailed through the Straits of Hormuz in April 2001. He was linked to a website that openly carried AQ propaganda and associated with another man, Derek Shareef, who allegedly attempted to ignite explosives at a Chicago area shopping mall in December of 2006. Abujihaad's belief and ideology was his motivation for sending the information that could have been used to launch an attack, mind you with no regard for his own life, since he was a member of the crew. The military has an internal responsibility to meticulously review its policies regarding the acceptance of immigrants into the Armed Forces and anyone who may pose a threat based on ideology, religion, or race. As the mission of the military is inherently perilous with regards to potential combat operations, the 'enemy within' is an unwelcomed risk.

While immigrants have always been a great asset and significant part of the military, current operations may influence some members to act out of allegiance to their beliefs rather than patriotism. Given the inherent danger of military services, internal threats of this nature should be addressed with more stringent background checks and debriefing mechanisms.

Instrument of National Power – Intelligence

The events of 9/11 caused a windfall of executive orders and political debate regarding the civil liberties and legalism of the USG spying on its own citizens. Safeguards for civil liberties and personal freedoms must be discovered, while the

intelligence community continues to transform itself to be at the forefront of the battle regarding domestic terrorist. Many local metropolitan cities have developed their own intelligence departments within local police departments that are interconnected with federal agencies. In addition to the typical relationship with the FBI, both the New York Police Department and Los Angeles Police Department have established relationships with the federal intelligence community that has enabled them to use limited national assets in the pursuance of perpetrators that sought to conduct terrorist acts within the country. The continued cooperation between local, state and federal intelligence agencies is imperative to the success of identifying, tracking, infiltrating, and attrition homegrown terrorist cells before they strike. Moreover unity of effort in using intelligence as a tool may result in tracking the origins of the cells.

Unified intelligence efforts may provide data that could lead to long-term success against a domestic threat or cell that has Global War on Terror (GWOT) implications. Both the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the National Joint Terrorism Task Force (NJTTF) have identified a need to investigate the motives and organizational structure of radical Islamic groups inside the U. S. prisons.³ And according to a 2004 New York Times report, there were at least 18 different Islamic prison gangs that may be connected or influenced by AQ or similar organizations. Though the danger of these organizations may seemingly be restricted to prisons, their influence extends beyond prison walls. Unified intelligence efforts could assist in identifying foreign state or organizational actors that may have a role on propagating or funding the radical Muslim organizations and thus influencing action. While organizations like JIS may use criminal

³ Frank Cilluffo, *Out of the Shadows: Getting Ahead of Prisoner Radicalization*, 2006, [URL:<hsgac.senate.gov/ files/091906Report.pdf>](http://hsgac.senate.gov/files/091906Report.pdf)

activity to fund their terrorist designs, organizations like MSA and MAS are much more refined and sophisticated. Given the established pattern of sympathy by these groups to AQ, Hamas and Hezbollah, unified collection will continue to produce the results that expose these organizations as advocates of anarchy and treason.

Additionally, shared intelligence among international agencies provides a baseline to track the intentions of terrorist that travel between countries in preparation or planning phases, securing backing and financing from state and non-state actors. Shared intelligence is both the lynchpin and the gap by which the GWOT will succeed or fail. Global cooperation in intelligence is required to affect positive outcomes in GWOT that will directly impact on the domestic front.

The Correctional Intelligence Initiative (CII) is a program aimed at Islamic radicals in prison. The CII was established to provide support to the National Joint Terrorism Task Force to curb radicalism in the US. The CII has four tenets:

- Provide general intelligence on extremist activities within the BOP
- Identify individuals, especially from the outside, who may be attempting to recruit inmates into radical organizations.
- Develop inmate sources on terrorism matters
- Track inmate contacts to the “free” environment.⁴

Instrument of National Power – Diplomacy

Dialogue and diplomacy with other westernized countries may assist the USG in preventing the type of radicalizing that has spread across Europe. In France, more than

⁴ <http://www.usdoj.gov/oig/special/0404/final.pdf>

half of the 45,000 penitentiary inmates are Muslim. This number is six times that of the proportion of Muslims in the overall French population. This reality caused the Paris-based daily periodical *Le Monde* to report that, “the nation’s prisons have become the cradle of the future jihad.” Europe is eager to work with the USG in its efforts to repeal radicalism. Aside from being well involved in their own challenges, Europe likely views the US as a final frontier how to eradicate radicalism while promoting peace and co-existence with Islam.

Aggressive immigration policies should be established with friendly-foreign governments that outline ‘checks and balances’ on behalf of the host nation country to require intelligence and report/restrict movement on radical activists that will impact the US. The inscription on the Statue of Liberty of:

“Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to
me. I lift my lamp beside the golden door.”

is still a relevant and welcoming communiqué to the world, but the agenda of some have expanded beyond making a better life for themselves in the “free world.” Conversely, diplomacy also is the avenue to open frank dialogue with our ‘allies’ that directly promote Wahabbism directly and Salifism covertly.

Though the socio-economic landscape of America is different from that of Europe, increased and more effective public diplomacy across the globe can open up avenues of agreement where both USG immigration policy and foreign nation policy are complementary to the extent that our borders are not compromised for the sake of foreign

security. Open and honest information threats would permit the tracking of individuals with illicit intent based radical ideology to be identified as threats to global security.

Our relationship with the Saudi government requires review, especially if it means compromising basic tenets of freedom and tolerance for the sake of appeasement. Though the connection between collegiate-based organizations may be more difficult to prove and direct Saudi input to their views impossible to substantiate, the promotion of Wahabbism in US based schools is unacceptable. While to Saudis may encourage intolerance based on their interpretation of Islam in the kingdom, the USG should neither allow it on US soil nor condone it abroad. Unlike Shariah law, The US Constitution and Bill of Rights provides for freedom of religion. A religion which advocates violence against another and promotes unrest against the very institution that provides them religious freedom should be recognized as a threat to national security.

Instrument of National Power – Legal

The role of law enforcement is equivalent to that of the military in the Global War of Terrorism. The Constitution of the United States of America, Article III, section 3 states:

- Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no

attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

Organizations like MSA, MAS are at the best openly sympathetic to the USG national enemies and best tacitly supportive of the adversarial organizations, causes and actions. Continue monitoring and prosecution of those organization that are proven to promoting anarchy and supporting organizations like AQ, Hamas and Hezbollah should be mitigated through law enforcement the judiciary channels. This does not mean an open season on organizations that use their rights to free speech, assembly or religion as a means to protest what they are unsatisfied with inside of the USG. That right is democratic. But when organizations openly advocate the overthrowing of the government institution then they should be no longer protected by those rights and should be viewed as criminals. Prison organizations like the Black P-Stone Nation (BPSN), Five Percenters and any other like organization must be addressed as more than just street gangs given its advocacy of anarchy and violence against others. The BPSN is generally considered a Chicago based street gang, but at its core is a loosely based interpretation of Islam. This interpretation gives the organization and level of protection inside prison that provides cover for illegal activities both inside and out.⁵ There is a direct relationship between this cover and the growth of the organization inside prison walls. The organization grows outside the prison system as a street-gang, where the majority of its members are youth ages 16-25.⁶ The result to the criminal activity which includes robbery, murder, drug

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ <http://www.streetgangs.com/bloods/bpsn.html>

trafficking and extortion, is the beginning a cycle that radicalizes youth wants they go to prison. Though this may seem like a simple case of criminal mischief and intent, law enforcement has the impetus to understand that the effectiveness of recruitment is extended by the prostituting of Islamic principles. The case of JIS serves a reminder that a street gang or criminal clique can mobilize for a far more dangerous intent.

All branches of law enforcement have made inroads for better collaboration and unity of effort regarding 'Homegrown Terrorism' since 9/11. Though none of the perpetrators of the event were US citizens, they were able to move throughout the US with relative ease. The DHS and specifically the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) have the lead responsibility to mitigate that type of risk. Federal agencies like the ATF, FBI and DEA have the resources and have effectively used them to assist in the apprehension of criminals that commit federal crimes for funding terrorist causes and acts. In the case of the seven men who conspired to blow up the Sears Tower building in 2006, federal, state and local law enforcement agencies used intelligence sources to converge on three cities to thwart a threat against the Sears Towers in Chicago.⁷

Of the seven suspects in the Chicago case there were five US citizens, one Haitian legal and one Haitian national that was in the country illegally. Authorities mobilized in Chicago, Atlanta and Miami to capture the suspects. Though it is unclear whether or not the suspects had the means to execute the plot, they did have the plans. Fortunately a collaborative effort prevented those plans from being carried out.

⁷ <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/13497335/>

Instrument of National Power – Information

The struggle for American Muslim youth is in their hearts and minds. Some are second and third generation immigrants, while others are converts. They have a different value set than those of their parents who, if immigrants, adapted and assimilated into American society to pursue the dream. Some of these youngsters having lived the American dream now seek to blend with the greater ‘ummah.’ The use of the internet, blogs, and some partial news has galvanized some in the generation towards an ideological understanding of Islam they is counter productive to the established freedoms in the United States. While the USG purports strategic communication and public affairs abroad, there is a need for an aggressive counter ideological support for terror (CIST) that is directed at the American Muslim population. The USG must make efforts to counter the influences of organizations that target the university and college students. An attempt to identify and counter the radical influences must be made in the prison system, impoverished areas and urban areas where Muslims beginning to endeavor in communal living that is based upon the separation of their religion. An IO campaign must be levied on these populations because they represent the isolated, disenfranchised and perhaps misunderstood segments of young people. While it may not be realistic to expect an acceptance of other religions based on the Quran, tolerance and respect for others should be at the heart of the campaign. This is necessary to counter the campaign of misinformation that is evidently being taught at some US based Muslim learning institutions and therefore is probably being delivered in mosques. An effective IO makes the USG vulnerable to criticism regarding religious discourse and theology. The IO campaign may actually call us a secular, democratic society with a largely Judeo-

Christian populace. But the IO campaign should emphasize the freedoms of the society and expose the restrictions of other governments regarding religion, including those who prescribe to Shariah Law. Since Islam largely disagrees with the principles of capitalism, the campaign should incorporate academics and professional from all walks of life who were either immigrants or converts that have faithfully practiced Islam without radicalized influences. If this is a ‘clash of misunderstandings’ as Ahkmed has stated then the IO campaign must be duplex to insure that all parties seek to reconcile the misunderstanding. Failure in the information area undermines the success of the strategy. Without information reconciliation then the conflict of ideals, beliefs, values and conduct will result in a “clash of civilizations.”

While the typical solutions to gang problems in prison may address the symptomatic problems of radicalism in prison, it does not address a longer term change of mind. Fewer than 20 percent of the US prisons have anti gang programs. Those institutions that have programs have waiting list by the hundreds that may take months to enter. The most notable of the reformation programs is the Texas based Gang Renouncement and Disassociation Process (GRAD).⁸ But no prison reports any program specifically designed to undercut the appeal and influence of Islamic radical groups in prison. The lack of trained imams continues to push the radical trend and suppress any sense of modernization for the near future.

⁸ <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/197045.pdf>

Instrument of National Power – Financial

While the some radical factions acquire their financial resources through illicit and criminal activities, organizations such as CAIR, the Holy Land Relief and Development Foundation, MSA and MAS receive funding through other International Governmental Organizations (IGO) and private donors. The Treasury Department was proactive and successful in freezing the assets of the Muslim World League and SAAR Foundation once they were indicted in December 2001. Continued probing and investigation of the source of funding of these organizations should be extended to freeze organizational assets, trace expenses that are linked to supporting terrorist activities and examination of donors and benefactors that support the organizations themselves. If organizations are linked to known terrorist activities or acts that are contradictory to the law of the United States of America, the “F” instrument of power should act to both cut off and extract the commerce, banking, securities and investment equities. Patient “Follow the Money,” tactics are proving effective on the GWOT restricting their freedom of action in regards to financial resourcing. Like measures would prove to deny organizations that fund and promote radicalization the capital that they require for operations. The employment of other elements of power would be necessary to cooperate and compliment offensive financial operations intended to cripple radical proponents because such actions may prove to be economically and financially damaging to some segments of our society that may have no idea of the roots of such philanthropy. Critical use of the “I” would be necessary to offset the rhetoric generated by the affected organizations and others that would frame actions as persecutory. Public opinion would be shaped by information operations and the appropriate level for strategic

communication to effectively mitigate the message of those who may support the organization without understanding some of its non-stated goals.

Instrument of National Power – Economic

The NSS focuses some of its economic direction in CIST for the disaffected and disenchanted groups that may be easily influenced and radicalized because of socio-economic vulnerabilities. The domestic requirements are generally the same. Though immigrant Muslims in America are typically more educated and affluent than their European counterparts, there are those who are generally disaffected and disenfranchised because of economic reasons. A large core of those potential radicals that fit the description is within the prison system. While the USPS allows the inmates to gather and study Islam, most prisons do not have Muslim clerics on staff. Therefore the type of Islam that is self-taught may be radicalized for selfish purposes. This is not to say that all Muslims in prison are radicals or will become radicals, but resourcing the requirement is a better alternative than radicalization. At a larger scale, economic reform may be needed to restore the income earning power of select categories of inmates as they are released from prison to assimilate them back into society as an American who is Muslim as opposed to an “Muslim Ex-Con.” The latter label identifies separations from the mainstream American society by two echelons: religion and criminality. Though an inmate is an ex-offender, general society is sometimes unforgiving based on the level of offense. However, the victim mentality that is perpetuated in prison only serves to convince former prisoners that all the odds are against them. This since of

disenfranchisement should be countered with efforts to recondition the minds of both the incarcerated and the released. Those efforts require financial investment by federal, state and private organizations that facilitate the reconditioning of prison gained radicalism permit the transparent transition of those affected back into society. Non-profit organizations such as Second Chance, exist to facilitate that type of transition. Inter-prison organizations and prison infrastructure that may mitigate radicalization requires resourcing, whether it be for additional prison guards or the employment of clerics.

Finally, if the economic resourcing is the answer for the disenfranchised Muslims around the globe as a means of winning The War on Terror, then economic empowerment is also required to affect a positive impact of the disenfranchised and vulnerable citizens who may follow Islam domestically. This is not to suggest an Islamic ‘welfare program’ or specialized services or treatment based on religious affiliation of any type, but governmental or business stimuli that addresses the economic needs of the impoverished will have long lasting benefits in denying radical Islam a domestic avenue of approach to homegrown terrorism.

Conclusion

The rise in domestic terrorism is real and documented. Though there has not been a successful attack on the US since 9/11, it has not been for lack of attempting. The conspirators of 9/11 were foreign born and AQ affiliated. The USG responded by executing the pronouncement of the GWOT and aggressively pursuing regime change in Iraq and Afghanistan. A successful attack, even on a limited scale, would have traumatic consequences on national security and the nation's psyche. Whether it is a "clash of civilizations" as Huntington prescribes or a "clash of misunderstandings," the US cannot merely focus on terrorist networks without understanding and addressing the greater movement. Furthermore, the USG cannot merely focus on exporting its efforts against terrorism without addressing the domestic front.

The US must define how it views Islam and its many factions. While there are peaceful followers of the Quran, there are also radical and violent sects that bring into question the peacefulness of Islam. A basic understanding of Islam and its origin is the first step to defining and recognizing if it is a threat to the Western World. This understanding should be facilitated by Muslims but the ultimate responsibility belongs to US citizens to familiarize and educate themselves on the religion and its history. Depending on an interpretation without knowledge of what is being interpreted will only lead to consequences that will be unexpected and perhaps unforgiving. While it is the nature of the USG to be accommodating to religious purview, the alternative viewpoint

regarding Islam should be explored and respected. It is between the two viewpoints that successful strategy will be found.

Europe has given the USG a reasonable example of the dangers of not understanding and addressing a burgeoning Muslim population with an increasing number of radical actors. The Europeans have also demonstrated that waiting for “moderates” to offset the radicals does not necessarily occur with much fidelity. Limited diplomatic efforts and private think tanks are working on the partnerships with the European to change the course of American accommodation and ambivalence. While the actions of some US-based radical organizations have proved to be their own undoing, the continued permissive environment in which others operate will only prove to embolden their message and messengers. Radical Muslim organizations with direct ties and influences on our nation’s universities and colleges should be confronted and exposed for their real agendas. Information sharing with organizations like European Union (EU) Counterterrorism Directorate and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) is key to being able to track trends in radicalization that parallel those experienced by the Europeans.

Immigrants are part of the very fabric that makes America a “melting pot.” However, the negative view of the US by some Muslim countries has transferable effects on incoming immigrants. The USG must be realistic and understand that there will be a remnant of immigrants that will have lasting negative views of America all while carving out a better life for themselves. While the immigrants themselves may have been exposed to those, retain those viewpoints and tacitly act on those viewpoints, it is the second and third generations that are taking radicalism to level of decisive action.

The youth generation is moved to radicalism by the sense of ‘ummah’ which is fashioned as a connection to the suffering of other Muslims. With the US armed forces being engaged in combat in two Muslim countries and the USG being framed by some in the Muslim world as “crusaders,” the sense of ‘ummah’ on behalf of some American Muslims has become more intense and threatening. Technology is now used to furnish radical propaganda and act as cyber-mosques to reach a technologically astute group of Muslims that are considered elite by most standards. The USG must address the fact that a large amount of the radical webhosting is done within the US, where radical movements can purchase web host net space to propagate their message to the followers and potential radicals via segmentation. The technology exists to deter the use of such websites by the means of agencies like the National Security Agency (NSA), however the extent to which agencies like the NSA can actively track radical websites and chat rooms is restricted by civil liberties. An appropriate middle ground must be reached.

While the internet is one battle space for the hearts and minds of young American Muslims, so is the educational system. The influence of on campus based organizations such as the Muslim American Society (MAS) that inspire radicalization under the guise of a Muslim support network should be denied. Like organizations should be denied access by the Department of Education based on principles that ascribe the overthrow of the USG. This is not a denial of freedom of speech; it is a roadblock to potentially treasonous acts. The recommendations of US Commission on International Religious Freedom should be followed to require the Saudi-government to comply with the removal of themes of intolerance from US-based schools. However the relationship that allows the Saudi-funded school the freedom to decide whether they will comply with general

educating practices in the US by not teaching intolerance of religions needs to be relooked, reviewed and revoked by the Department of State. Additionally, Saudi support of organizations that promote radicalism on colleges and universities should be withdrawn with USG pressure on the Saudis to change its message. In addition to general diplomatic efforts, the assistance of international watch organizations like the Center for Democracy and Human Rights in Saudi Arabia should be employed.

The radicalization of American Muslim youth and prison converts is codependent on one another. As the US prison population grows, the convicted get younger and the number of people that convert to Islam grows. The FBI and the Bureau of Prisons have just recently begun efforts to identify the number of prisoners by religious affiliation. Of specific interest are the growing Muslim population and the number of Muslim-based organizations that are covertly structured as prison gangs. Federal law enforcement agencies and intelligence departments along with local law enforcement agencies are the key in monitoring and restricting the illegal activities of these organizations while continually interrupting any terrorist plans. While the USG must act with all of its elements of national power to address the domestic front of the GWOT with the same vigor as it is pursued internationally.

If the US does not acknowledge its own misunderstanding of idealistic differences with Islam, specifically Wahabbism, then she will find herself in the same predicament of Western Europe. We are becoming more increasingly dependent on 'moderate' Muslims to explain Islam to us in terms that fit a 'Judeo-Christian' paradigm of religion and westernized view of governance. While this is palatable to our political correctness, it does not enable us to understand Islam as more than a belief system. For Islamists, Islam

is a way of life that has only 'one' way. Perhaps we should take more stock in the viewpoints and opinions of people like Magdl Allam, the Italian commentator and 'moderate' Muslim who recently converted to Catholicism. Allam stated that his conversion from Islam had "liberated" him from "darkness" and allowed him to see Islam more clearly. He stated at an interview coinciding with his guarded baptism, "I realized that Islam is not compatible with core values such as respect for life and freedom of choice." Perhaps we should balance the viewpoints of 'moderate' Muslims who explain Islam to us with the opinions of 'converts' who have departed from Islam.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Salafi – From the word "Salaf" which is short for "Salaf as-Salih" meaning (righteous) predecessors or (pious) ancestors

Salafi is a generic term, depicting a Sunni revivalist school of thought that takes the pious ancestors of the early period of early Islam as exemplary models. Consequently, Salafis seek to purge Islam of all outside influences, starting with the cultures and traditions of contemporary Muslim societies, and restore it to that of an imagined 7th century utopia (the Caliphate). The Salafi interpretation of Islam seeks a “pure” society that applies the Quran literally and adheres to the social practices and Islamic law (sharia) that prevailed at the time of the prophet Muhammad in the 7th century in Arabia.

jihadi-Salafi – A militant interpretation of the Salafi school of thought that identifies violent jihad as the means to establish and revive the Caliphate. Militant jihad is seen not as an option, but as a personal obligation. This obligation is elevated above other moral standards, which may be abrogated.

Mujahedeen – holy warriors who fight infidels as a religious duty

Muharib – one who fights society itself

Takfir – the practice of declaring that an individual or a group previously considered Muslims, are in fact kaffir(s) (non-believers in God), an act of accusing others of disbelief, used in the context of branding certain persons or whole communities as unbelievers to religiously justify jihad against them.

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